1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

78 are the product of intermarriage and formal friendship. Intervillage
628 feuds are common and are restrained only by the religious community,
626 sanctuary being granted at all religious ceremonials.

ETIQUETTE

576 All dealings with visitors are conducted according to elaborate formal
195 patterns. The language is rich in formal appellations, exclamations, and
562 honorific phrases. The most remarkable feature is that women are permitted to behave with perfect freedom, whereas men, until they become fathers, behave with a shy and deferential modesty resembling but exceeding that of the Victorian maiden. Normal relations between members
[522] of the same village are formal and dignified; only in the men's house or on fishing and hunting trips is the behavior of men relaxed enough to permit horseplay and casual joking.

LIFE CYCLE

553 **Childbirth and Childhood.**—The child gets two sets of names, one
551 male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These
843 are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines. Taboos in
846 regard to diet and behavior are required of both parents before and after birth. There is a well-developed couvade based on the notion of an
853 intimate connection between the infant and its father. Babies are nursed
862 until they turn to other food of their own volition; sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children. No inter-
854 course is allowed during the period of lactation. Babies are carried on the hip, and sleep with the mother until weaning, when they are paired
[291] off with other children or with a grandparent. The girl child wears no clothing until weaned and then receives a fringed belt.

881 **Puberty and Initiations.**—At menstruation, a girl's cheeks are scarified and she assumes the girdle.

[304] A boy passes through a first initiation at about the age of 8 or 9,
[302] when his lower lip is pierced and a small bone labret inserted. A couple of years later, he passes through a second initiation, when his hair is cut short to a tonsure, his entire body is stained black with genipa, and he assumes the penis cord. When his hair has grown out to shoulder length, it is put up in a braid, and he attains full status as a young man.
885 The next change of status for both boys and girls occurs at marriage, when, for the first time, they take on the responsibilities of regular work.
551 Teknonymy is a matter of pride and follows the birth of the first child.
The name is retained permanently thereafter, even though the child should
888 die. At about 45 both parents discard their ornaments and accept the
561 status of old age. All the above age grades are named and involve differential behavior and dietary observances.

653333—47—15

/45 cont./

601 the children of their sister "nephew-niece" (without distinction as to sex). This only makes sense if one wishes to emphasize, along with the unity of the brothers and sisters, the unity of a patrilineal minimal lineage, the children of a sister then belonging to another small exogamic patrilineal group. Now, at present, there is no patrilineal lineage. This would allow us to suppose an historic change from a patrilineal preponderance to a matrilineal preponderance, a change which would be expressed today in double descent. The kinship system which most emphasizes the unity of patrilineal lineage /46/ (of the mother) is the "Omaha" system, which, moreover, one could imagine as structured according to the principle of the classificatory unity of brothers and sisters, which is never the case so far as I know, but which would push the logic of this system to the extreme (the same statement would be valid for the "Crow" system, which marks the unity of the matrilineal lineage, this time of the father).

551 601 Now, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (as well as parents-in-law) are classified by "teknonymy," and since in the designation the reference "...of my child" seems to be customarily omitted, this is the same, for the husbands, as the way in which, in the "Omaha" system, the men designate their matrilateral male and female cross-cousins, and for the wives, as the manner of designation used by the women in the "Crow" system, when it is a matter of their patrilateral male and female cousins. I wonder whether there is not a connection between teknonymy in the broad sense and the types produced by linear or consecutive classification.

Teknonymy in the restricted sense, i.e., the terms "lord of so-and-so" and "source of so-and-so" used by a third person, is voluntarily chosen by the parents themselves. "Source of the grandchild" is the daughter-in-law, whereas the son-in-law is called "black-nephew" (the speech of the man being borrowed, this time, by his wife!). This would again be in accord with a historic state of patrilineal preponderance, if one does not

/46 cont./

551 wish to infer at the outset a marriage, formerly prescribed,
601 with the matrilateral female cross-cousin. One must remember,
[183] however, that the present state characterized by a great degree of freedom, in other words, by a degree of "information" or of greater entropy, is also found in the performance of ceremonies, such as in the narration of myths and legends, these expressions of the spiritual life of the Carajá which allow great freedom of variation around a principal theme stubbornly preserved. — Finally teknonymy guides the reciprocal terms of grandparents and grandchildren, so that the grandparents, designated according to their sex, reply by the same word, even if the grandchild is of the opposite sex.

561 Before finishing my article, I must quickly touch on the
554 last two columns of Murdock's attempt. The Carajá distinguish,
615 by speech and by ornaments, age grades. At the same time, an idea of stratification is outlined in the fact that political and religious roles are the heritage of only one of the three patrilineal
[567] groups with an endogamous tendency. It is tempting to think of the classes or castes of the Guaycurú /Guaicuru/, for example, and since there are reports which speak of temporary slaves, Murdock's information in this direction must be corrected (A1, with a tendency towards C1, instead of O; column 14). The
628 villages are politically autonomous, but the Carajá themselves
621 unite some villages in amphictyonies for the performance of
622 certain ceremonies. The hereditary succession of the chiefs
621 goes in the patrilineal line, a grandson being chosen as the candidate, or, if one is lacking, a granddaughter. Consequent-
[178] ly, there is a temporary matrilineal succession in the heart of the patrilineal group, for which there is reserved the role of the chief, who, incidentally, is on the way to complete disappearance (thus: Pp and m, for the Carajá themselves, Ap and m for the Javahé and Chambioá /Shambioa/; column 15).

121 You would not wish me to end on this melancholy note.
[178] I repeat: a people small in number and too little known, despite appearances, is in the process of losing at least its traditional aspect, which would have been fascinating for comparative sociology as well as for the history of the South American Indians.

/327 cont./

washed once more and again rubbed. After this it is wrapped in a small net covering. Deformed children (blind ones, too) are drowned in the river by the mother; this is not regarded as wrong. Only well-formed children are raised, even when they are all girls. Nothing could be learned about the treatment of twins; such a case had "not yet occurred." The families, on the average, have two to four /328/ children; five are already regarded as many. There are said to be even more children in one family, however. The child is nursed for several years, and even children five or six years old still run to their mother in order to appease their hunger.

Children are given their names at birth by the grandparents on the paternal and maternal side. They keep these names all through life. Many Karajá bore Christian names, which were given them by the Brazilian boatmen; there are said to be only one or two actually baptized Karajá in São José. I obtained quite a number of given names for persons of both sexes; unfortunately, translations of them could not be obtained. It is only in the following names that familiar syllables may be separated out: mãŭzĭ = addition to pottery clay (see above, p. 209); kūlĭ = tapir; ănănlŏă = cat; ănlŭāzĭ = jaguar-zi (zi = egg; possibly misheard for ti = bone). For the rest of the names, see the word list /untranslated; see the foreign text, pp. 454-455/.

Soon after birth the children have their ear lobes pierced for the insertion of the ear tulips (kūădjŭ), which are later replaced by the ear rods; it is only later that the lip-hole is pierced for the boys. Both procedures take place without any further ceremony.

The boys run about naked; girls wear a black string-belt. It is only at the age of 9-12 that the boys tie the penis up and the girls hang the bast apron over the belt. From then on the boys live with the young men. As insignia the children wear arm cuffs, calf and ankle bands, the latter of which are already removed by the boys at the age of six to eight years.